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COMPARTMENTED

P/S REVIEW

TOTAL FUNDS AUTHORIZATION

2'4 MAIL 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

FROM:

Chier, Evaluation and Plans Staff

SUBJECT:

Review of OPACT QRPLUMB for FY 1986

Amount Requested \(\square\)

1. Description. Operational Activity QRPLUMB (formerly QRDYNAMIC) is a proprietary that supports a Ukrainian exile group headquartered in New York, its major printing and publishing facility in Munich, and branches in London and Paris. Its goal is to keep alive the Ukrainian nationalist spirit in the USSR and to encourage Ukrainian opposition to the oppressive aspects of Soviet political, economic, and social policies. QRPLUMB's activities mostly consist of publishing in the Ukrainian language and infiltrating into the Soviet Ukraine: a monthly political-literary magazine, a socio-political quarterly journal (in Russian), books, pamphlets, bulletins, and leaflets.

- 2. Authority. OPACT QRPLUMB is authorized by the Presidential Finding of 7 June 1978. It complies with Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (as amended).
- 3. EPS Comment. This Activity has a long-established network of its own contacts and infiltration mechanisms and continues to use surrogates in countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia to broaden its access to the Soviet Bloc audience. QRPLUMB also collects adequate feedback from its target audiences indicating that its products are being read and are having an impact. We concur in the major objective of continuing to maintain pressure on the Soviet regime on the Ukrainian question and the collateral issues of the other suppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union.

In early 1985, at the urging of the Agency Audit Staff this Activity was converted from a controlled subsidy to a proprietary. On reexamining the operational functioning of QRPLUMB,

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however, it was discovered that there are many aspects of the Activity that we neither wish to nor are allowed to support (specifically, propagandizing in the U.S. and making witting all U.S. persons employed by QRPLUMB). These activities can and have been kept separate from that part of this extensive project that we are interested in supporting, propaganda infiltrated into the Soviet Bloc. PPS has submitted a proposal to return QRPLUMB to the status of controlled subsidy. EPS supports that proposal.

This Activity has serious problems with two of its assets. One involves QRPLUMB/2, the now retired former head of QRPLUMB who has been accused publicly of war crimes from the World War II era. The charges are not very substantial but there is potential that the investigation could expose the Agency subsidy to QRPLUMB. Given the political sensitivity of the charges, PPS has wisely decided to let the investigation take its course and avoid even the perception of Agency interference.

The other problem concerns QRPLUMB/57 (P/57), current President of QRPLUMB. Although he has worked for the QRPLUMB organization for over twenty years and has had an OA since 1974, a recent ruling requiring all U.S. citizen/agents in proprietaries to have a Covert Security Approval resulted in his repolygraph. As a result of concerns evidenced during the polygraph on certain lifestyle questions and the possible comingling of personal and operational funds, Office of Security has been unwilling to give P/57 a CSA. P/57 recently discussed the circumstances of the funds misuse and volunteered to reimburse them (between \$1000 and \$2000). PPS considers P/57 to be uniquely qualified to head this operation for the following reasons: (a) P/57 is working for the FBI and

to assess and develop Chinese targets; (b) P/5/ has longtime personal contacts with the Polish, Ukrainian, Baltic, and Czech emigre community leaders in Europe on whom PPS depends for infiltration of its publications. Although P/57 is willing to introduce these contacts to his successor, this will take some time, and PPS would lose the benefit of his contacts for all practical purposes; (c) P/57 is well-respected within the Ukrainian emigre communities in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe especially with the younger generation which PPS would like to bring into the QRPLUMB organization; (d) P/57 was especially groomed by his predecessor to handle the administration and publication sections of the organization. The Office of General Counsel is disposed to aid PPS in salvaging P/57 for use because of his long service and practically unique value to the activity. EPS concurs with this attempt.

4. EPS Recommendation. EPS recommends approval of OPACT QRPLUMB for FY 1986 in the amount of and suggests continuing concentration on documenting the Activity's reception and impact inside the Soviet Bloc.

APPROVAL - FY-86 OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY - QRPLUMB

DESCRIPTION AND PURPOSE

Operational Activity QRPLUMB (formerly known as QRDYNAMIC) is a New York-based Ukrainian publishing and distribution corporation with affiliates in Munich, London and Paris. QRPLUMB publishes a Ukrainian-language monthly political-literary magazine, a Russian-language socio-political quarterly journal, bulletins, pamphlets, leaflets, and books for infiltration into and clandestine distribution within the Soviet Ukraine. The main purpose of the QRPLUMB Activity is to provide intellectual and moral support to those Ukrainians who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who encourage liberalization among various strata of the Ukrainian population.

AUTHORIZATION

This operational Activity supports Directorate for Operations Objective T and is in compliance with Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. It is covered by a Presidential Finding dated 7 June 1978 and has been reported regularly to the appropriate committees of Congress.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. In FY-85 an estimated 24,150 copies of QRPLUMB-produced publications were infiltrated into the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries. In addition, QRPLUMB infiltrated into the target area: two video machines, 340 cassette tapes, six cameras, 12 tape recorders, 400 T-shirts (with appropriate slogans), 5,000 stickers with pro-Ukrainian and anti-Afghan slogans, and 20 stamping devices that were used to print over 15,000 anti-Afghan war slogans in different cities in the Ukraine. QRPLUMB continued to expand established contacts with Polish underground groups and to maintain a working relationship with the Czech group in London (Palach Press) which made arrangements to translate two Ukrainian samizdat books into Czech for printing inside Czechoslovakia. Contacts were also maintained with Lithuanian and Latvian groups in Europe which are involved in book distribution and human rights activities and the re-printing of books in appropriate languages for distribution in

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their homelands. In turn, these groups helped QRPLUMB infiltrate Ukrainian publications into the Soviet Union. QRPLUMB/57, at the PRC's invitation, made a trip to China where he lectured on the current situation in the Ukraine and ethnic problems in the Soviet military. His trip report was disseminated.

- 2. QRPLUMB continued its emigre and tourist debriefing program involving travelers to and from the Soviet Union. Infiltration activities from Western Europe have been expanded, for example, using French nationals and Ukrainians living in France (with infiltration routes through Hungary and Yugoslavia), and using travelers passing through Germany en route to the Ukraine. QRPLUMB has about 50 individuals involved in distribution/infiltration operations worldwide and another 150 who support the operation on an intermittent basis, some of whom are paid couriers who transported large amounts of literature. QRPLUMB has a mailing list of 25,000 addresses in the Ukraine and also conducts mailings from Western and East Bloc countries.
- 3. Soviet attacks of QRPLUMB activities have appeared in various publications. Other evidence also indicates that QRPLUMB publications are reaching target audiences. For example, a student visitor from Poland stated that QRPLUMB journals are available in Poland and are passed on into the Ukraine. Moreover, a number of Polish samizdat publications have translated articles from QRPLUMB journals into Polish and printed them in their publications.

PLANS

1. In early FY-85, the audit staff recommended that QRPLUMB be converted from a controlled subsidy to a proprietary and this was done based on that recommendation. However, looking beyond audit concerns to the actual operational functioning of QRPLUMB, it was apparent that QRPLUMB does not function as a proprietary. There are many aspects of this large operation that we neither wish to nor are allowed to support. Upon review and discussion with DDO/PPS and the Inspector General, it was decided that QRPLUMB clearly functions as a subsidy and should be considered as such. Consequently, we have initiated a proposal to convert its status back to that of controlled subsidy. When this is done, formal ownership will revert to the two or three witting leaders of the organization under the same provisions as prevailed earlier. As in the past, appropriate safeguards will be included and we anticipate no problems of a security, cover or administrative nature.

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- 2. QPLUMB plans to continue publishing the journals <u>Suchasnist</u> and <u>Forum</u>, and infiltrating them into the Soviet Union.
- 3. With the increased emphasis on audio/video cassette distribution/infiltration into the Soviet Union, QRPLUMB is developing plans to increase activity in this area. A variety of video cassettes on subjects, such as literature, social, economic, art and political, will be prepared during FY-86 for infiltration into the Soviet Ukraine, Poland and other East Bloc countries. In addition, QRPLUMB will continue to search for new infiltration routes and contacts for its product inside target countries.
- 4. A plan will be formalized in FY-86 for moving the QRPLUMB office from New York to New Jersey, where rental costs are considerably lower. This saving will free funds for operational activities. (Major expenses would incur if lease would be broken in FY-86.)
- 5. QRPLUMB plans to continue expanding its cooperation with East European groups (Poles and Czechs) in FY-86. QRPLUMB/57 believes that Polish-Soviet border controls will be relaxed in the near future, increasing chances for infiltrating QRPLUMB materials into the Soviet Union. Great emphasis will be placed on verifying that QRPLUMB materials are reaching their target audiences.

PROBLEMS

1. Two serious problems arose during FY-85. One concerned the polygraph examination of the current head of the organization, QRPLUMB/57. We are still attempting to resolve the issues raised, which involve lifestyle questions and possible mishandling of funds. Note there were no concerns about security or counterintelligence issues. A second problem involves a current Justice Department investigation into the now retired head of the organization, QRPLUMB/2 (P/2). This concerns P/2's activities during and before World War II as a leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement fighting at various times, the Poles, the Soviets and the Germans. We are monitoring this closely through OGC. Our main concern is not so much the investigation itself, which OGC advises does not seem to be producing a viable case against P/2, but the potential for leaks, investigative journalism and possible resultant Soviet Active Measures against P/2 and QRPLUMB.

SECRET

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2. A brief operational problem arose when two QRPLUMB couriers were arrested in East Germany carrying various publications destined for the USSR. This problem was resolved with the payment of a fine by the couriers, who were then immediately released.

AGENTS/ASSETS

- QRPLUMB/57 -- President of the proprietary. OA granted 5 July 1983. Annual salary \$37,000 paid by proprietary. Processing for CSA (polygraphed on 29 October 1985).
- QRPLUMB/75 -- Treasurer of the proprietary. CSA granted 10 September 1985. Annual salary \$30,000 paid by proprietary.
- QRPLUMB/103 -- Vice President of proprietary. CSA granted 20 June 1985. Annual salary \$25,000 paid by proprietary.

In addition to the above three witting employees, there are 33 unwitting employees working full-time and part-time for the proprietary. All full-time employees are covered by retirement, health and life insurance. There are no special commitments or benefits other than those listed above. All unwitting employees believe they are working for the research/publishing corporation.

COVER/SECURITY

There were no cover compromises during FY-85. A re-polygraph of QRPLUMB/57 has not resolved the most critical outstanding areas and the future use of QRPLUMB/57 will require re-examination. The possible future security problem arising from the Justice Department investigation into QRPLUMB/2 was noted above.

FUNDING

Transfer of funds for Operational Activity QRPLUMB is conducted through devised funding facilities provided by CCS. Cover payments are made by bank transfers to the QRPLUMB corporation bank account.

SECRET

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SOURCE OF FUNDS

This OPACT requests funding approval in the amount of in FY-1986. FY-1986 funds are available in the PPS budget in the amount of (FAN 28-4544). FY-1987 funds are programmed in amount of

ACCOUNTABILITY

This OPACT contains proprietary operational funds to be accounted for in accordance with the Administrative Plan, approved on 4 March 1985. C/PPS affirms that the previously approved provisions of the Administrative Plan remain adequate and valid.

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	FY-85	FY-86	FY-87
Cash Resources			
Beginning Cash Balance Agency Subsidy Book Sales & Subscriptions	50,000	\$	\$ < 5.000 7 65,000
Total Cash Available	£)	()	()
Expenditures		· .	
Fixed Expenditures:			
Salaries & Benefits	\$275,000	\$280,000	\$284,000
New York Office	135,000	135,000	145,000
NOW TOLK OFFICE	100,000	100,000	143,000
Subtotal Fixed Expenses	\$410,000	\$415,000	\$429,000
Operating Expenses:			
Publishing Costs	\$210,000	\$200,000	\$190,000
Microfilm System/Materia:		5,000	5,000
Purchase of Books/	10,000	3,000	3,000
Periodicals	7 000	Γ 000	
	7,000	5,000	5,000
Distribution Costs	130,000	105,000	125,000
Munich Office	110,000	95,000	105,000
London Office	92,000	75,000	85,000
Tokyo Office	30,000	0	0
Research & Contact		•	
Operations	85,000	65,000	70,000
Operational Travel/	•		•
Entertainment	35,000	20,000	25,000
Subtotal Operating			
Expenses	709,000	570,000	610,000.
Total Expenditures	\$1,119,000	\$985,000	\$1,039,000
Ending Cash Balance	(·)	()	(,)